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CINCINNATI CONVENTION,

OCTOBER 18, 1864,

FOR

THE ORGANIZATION OF A PEACE PARTY,
UPON

STATE-RIGHTS, JEFFERSONIAN, DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

AND FOR THE

PROMOTION OF PEACE AND INDEPENDENT NOMINATIONS
FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES.

FIRST DAY—OCTOBER 18, 1864.

The Peace Convention met at the Lecture Room in the Catholic Institute, October 18, at 10 o'clock. About fifty delegates were present. A temporary organization was effected by appointing Hon. Wm. M. Corry, Chairman, and John Cahill, Secretary.

On motion of Hon. Alexander Long, of Ohio, a Committee of three was appointed by the Chair, on permanent organization, consisting of Oliver Brown, Esq., Geo. F. Hoeffer, Esq., and B. P. Churchill, Esq.

On motion of Hon. James W. Singleton, of Illinois, a Committee of seven was appointed by the Chair, on resolutions and address, consisting of Hon. J. W. Singleton, of Illinois, I. J. Miller, Esq., of Ohio, Josiah Snow, Esq., of Illinois, Hon. Alex. Long, of Ohio, Hon. Lafe Devlin, of Indiana, Hon. Wm. Cornell Jewett, of Pennsylvania, and by action of the Convention, Hon. Wm. M. Corry, of Ohio.

On motion of Hon. Wm. Cornell Jewett,—That in view of the important responsibility upon the Convention to make independent nominations, for the purpose of organizing a Peace party upon sound State Rights, Democratic principles, be it

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to report to this Convention suitable candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.

Pending this motion, which was discussed

at length, the Convention adjourned until 2 P. M.

Upon the reassembling of the Convention at 2 P. M., the Committee on organization reported for permanent officers, Hon. Wm. M. Corry, Chairman, and S. A. Miller, and Daniel S. Dana, Secretaries.

The discussion on the subject of nominations was then resumed, pending which a motion to adjourn until 9 o'clock, A. M., the 19th inst., was carried for the purpose of giving the Committee on resolutions and principles time to report.

SECOND DAY—OCTOBER 19, 1864.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Peace Convention assembled at the Catholic Institute at 9 A. M.

By unanimous consent, action upon the resolutions for a Committee on Candidates for President and Vice-President, was postponed for the purpose of hearing the report of Committee on resolutions.

The resolutions of the Committee were received and read.

Action was then taken section by section and they were all passed.

On motion of General Singleton it was

Resolved, That we approve and indorse the action and resolutions of the Democracy of Franklin county, New York, on the 11th of October, 1864, as published in the Franklin Gazette of the 15th inst., and pledge to said Democracy our hearty co-operation. Carried.

On motion of Hon. Amos Green, of Illinois, it was

Resolved, That for the purpose of perfecting this organization a Committee to consist of two members from each State be appointed as an Executive Committee, and that the President of this Convention notify the gentlemen so appointed, and request an acceptance upon their part of such appointment. Carried.

Convention adjourned to 7 P. M.

EVENING SESSION, Oct. 19, 1864.

Convention re-assembled at 7 P. M. The Committee on resolutions reported an address, which was received and adopted. The Convention then discussed the propriety of nominations under the resolution introduced by Hon. W. C. Jewett. The resolution was adopted and a Committee appointed consisting of Hon. W. C. Jewett, Hon. J. W. Singleton and Lafe Devlin, Esq.

The Chairman of the Committee reported that they were unanimous in favor of Hon. Alex. Long, for President and unable to procure his assent or to harmonise upon another candidate, but asked for further time to report.

This elicited a debate upon the propriety of dispensing with nominations, and presenting to the people the resolutions and address, with the proceedings of the Convention, as the basis of an organization of the peace party.

Hon. James W. Singleton, Mr. I. J. Miller, Mr. Josiah Snow, Mr. Lafe Devlin, Hon. Alexander Long, Hon. William Cornell Jewett, Hon. W. M. Corry, Committee on resolutions and address, reported the following resolutions, complete, as adopted by the Convention.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, The Chicago Convention has distinctly repudiated Democratic principles, and nominated General McClellan, who has responded to the platform by his war record, but the Peace and State Rights Democracy scouting the whole proceedings, have no idea of surrendering their doctrines; Therefore, this Convention of the party determined to place our case on its principles, so as to keep before the people, the great question of Peace or War, and the vital matter of State Sovereignty, which is the ultimate and omnipotent power of the federal system and our only protection for liberty within the United States.

That as our fathers did, so do we stand by the first Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, as written by Thomas Jefferson, which was the doctrine of the party for sixty-five years, until rejected at Chicago. It saved the party of that day from the same consolidation which is now impending over us, and which resolution is in these words:

1 *Resolved*, That the several States composing the United States, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their General Government, but that by a compact, under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes—delegated to the Government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their self-government; and that whenever the General

Government assumes undelegated power, its acts are unauthorized, void, and of no force; that to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming, as to itself, the other party; that the Government created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers: but that, as in all other cases of compact among powers having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

2. *Resolved*, That as Jefferson made the rugged issue of doctrine with Adams, so must we make it with the Federal Administration, if we would resist effectually the infinitely greater dangers which surround us. We do, consequently, declare THE WAR WHOLLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL, and on that ground we hold it should be stopped. If a majority of the copartnership-States can retain a member by force, they may expel one by force, which has not yet been pretended by anybody. The Federal Agency, at Washington, backed up by a majority of the States in Congress, without right, in the vain attempt to subjugate the minority of the States, is destroying their liberty, and crushing the federal system to atoms by thus attacking the Constitution. The Administration, and that majority, are the real enemies of the Union, which can not, and ought not to exist after its conditions are destroyed. The Chicago Platform, and General McClellan and his war-record letter, which he has laid over it, must all be repudiated by Democrats for the same reason. If we admit that the war is constitutional, we must not murmur at the monstrous abuses which attend it, for they all naturally grow out of the original atrocity.

The evils of paper money, of protective tariff, of the public debt; the military draft; the military governors; the arbitrary arrest; the provost marshals; the fifteen bastilles: the drum-head courts-martial; the bayonet elections; the padlocked lips; the fettered press; the wholesale confiscation; the constructive treason; our immense armies and navies, are more incidents of the war itself, and so are President Lincoln's futile proclamations of slave emancipation, and his general amnesties. Half truths and narrow issues, have been the bane of Democracy for many years, and they have so contracted the minds and hearts of Democrats that all sense of justice, and all knowledge of constitutional law which sat there so long enthroned, have departed, and left us an easy prey to the violence of President Lincoln's Administration, and to corrupt managers of our own party in State and National Conventions.

3. *Resolved*, That we are directly opposed to all schemes of abolition and consolidation, and we not only adopt Jefferson's first Kentucky Resolution as our political creed—every word of it—but we declare that the time has come, by agitation, organization and combination, to put it in practice. The Abolitionists and consolidationists, whether they call themselves Republicans or Democrats, have a constitutional aversion to it, which proves, if proof were wanting, that it should be our remedy for the evils of the country, our plan for making the Federal Constitution, instead of personal ambition, vengeance, ignorance or audacity, the measure of Federal powers over the States and the people.

4. *Resolved*, That the enormous and accumulating public debt is coming down like an avalanche, to bury our property with our liberties, and to make the lives of millions of poor men, women and children an intolerable burthen. The time has come to sound the alarm to all producers, the mechanics and laborers, but especially the farmers. Agriculture is the employment of three-fourths of the American people, and by far the most important of all others; the characters of those engaged in it conform entirely to free institutions, and likewise to light taxes, peace measures, peace policy, and peace establishments, responsible rulers and strict construction of the Constitution. Self-preservation for them, requires a Peace and State-rights Platform, and Peace and State-rights candidates, but, as indispensable to those, an immediate separation of the federal from the financial power, by the election of a President who will have justice done to all pursuits and sections in respect of the public debt. Five billions have already been spent for prosecution of the war, and some of it is funded and non-taxable, much of it is still to be funded, and the struggle in Congress will be to exempt the most luxurious and

idle means of living from taxation altogether, while the rich man's field is fattened by the sweat of the poor man's brow. Land and labor are thus overcharged with public expenses. Much of the debt was incurred in paper money at two for one, so that it will double in eight years; and all the special legislation it asks of Congress will be approved by Lincoln or McClellan. The result will surely be to deliver over the agricultural States to bondage, and their people to serfdom, even changing the titles in *fee simple* to leaseholds, containing covenants for rendering an annual yield to the Government of every third bushel of grain, and every third stack in the field, and every third animal of the increase of the herds and flocks, to pay public officers and public creditors.

5. *Resolved*, That the universal interests of the people of all the States require that the Democracy should absolutely deny the fanatic charges of Abolitionists against negro slavery and slave-holders, and that for the welfare of our own laborers, as well as the cause of truth, we declare that negro slavery among the mingled millions of Southern whites and blacks is the only possible condition of prosperous society. The slave-holder is wise and just in his organization of his thought and labor, for the presence of his helpless slaves compels him to set tasks for them, and to require obedience from a childish and inferior race, that must be subsisted; but have not the faculty of self-preservation in contact with their superiors.

That the Democracy should also denounce and deride the protective tariff system, by which New England fleeces all the other sections; and the kindred imposition of paper money, issued in contempt of the Constitution by the Treasury and by private banks on the basis of the public stocks, which is another disastrous monopoly of capital over labor; but above all, the forcible conscription of the State militia, by millions, for war on the South; all which unconstitutional, demoralizing, and degrading measures have aggravated, ten-fold, the consummate wickedness and folly of the attempt at subjugation of the seceded States.

Resolved, That in presenting to the people these resolutions and principles, we do appeal to the Almighty for the rectitude of our purposes and the purity of our motives, and do proclaim that our reliance for success is upon God.

Resolved, That utterly repudiating all selfish, partisan and factions views; convened to promote the peace and welfare of the United States of America; deeming the people of the Confederate States brothers in blood, and as an indispensable means to perpetuate State rights and free institutions, we should make all possible efforts to join them in a mutual policy of unconditional negotiation for the attainment of peace, and that in view of the peril of our institutions, the people should sanction this course.

Carried.

At 9 P. M., the discussion was resumed upon the report of the Committee on Nominations, that they had been unable to harmonize on candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, and asked for further time. The argument was participated in by Hon. Alex. Long, of Ohio, Hon. W. M. Corry, of Ohio, Hon. James W. Singleton, of Illinois, Hon. W. C. Jewett, Hon. Lafe Devlin, of Indiana, Mr. Miller, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Dana, Mr. W. M. Peters, and others.

Hon. Alexander Long, of Ohio, addressed the Convention at length, explaining his position, and his desire to harmonize upon a platform, under strict Democratic principles, on the basis of a peace party. He said he desired the indulgence of the Convention for a few moments.

He had declined to unite in an independent movement at Chicago, immediately after the nomination of General McClellan, upon the ground that having remained in the Convention and participated in its deliberations, much as

he was opposed, both to the platform and nominee, he considered himself bound by its action.

The letter of acceptance (so called) of General McClellan, repudiating the platform and proclaiming one of his own, by which he proposed to commit the Democratic party, not only to his war policy, but also to his infamous record, had absolved, not only him, but the whole Democratic party, from any obligation to his support. Hence he had favored an independent nomination at Columbus, upon true democratic principles, and had in like manner cooperated with the advocates of a nomination in this convention. But while he fully appreciated the high compliment proposed to be conferred upon him; willing as he was to make almost any sacrifice in the cause of peace and for the promotion of State Rights and the security of personal liberty, he felt justified in declining the compliment, and he had resisted, during the past two days, the most urgent and persistent appeals of his friends to accept a nomination. He did not believe that any representative man could be found, at this late day, who would be willing to accept a nomination. The Convention had with perfect unanimity adopted a platform of principles, and an address to the people. He believed they had accomplished all that could be done until after the election, and he was, therefore, in favor of discharging the committee, and adjourning the Convention, *sine die*.

Hon. W. M. Corry called Hon. Jas. W. Singleton to the chair, and in a speech of great force and power, opposed the views as expressed by the honorable gentlemen from Ohio, and favoring a nomination. Mr. Corry said he was a determined, frank and earnest man. He had taken part in the deliberations of this body with pride, but he was not content with the proposed conclusion of the Committee. The nomination of peace and State-rights candidates was worth more than all besides as a legitimate and powerful means to secure the ultimate and complete success of the objects of the Convention. He maintained that it was the duty of all the subscribers to the organic law of the Convention, to make such nominations. If they were foregone, the exertions we had so bravely made to reconstruct American liberty upon the time-honored principles of Jefferson, were fruitless.

He urged at length the great advantages to the country to be derived from the bold, sound and independent principles set forth in the resolutions. The opportunity should now be given to the sincere Peace and State Rights men of the country to rally around an irresistible doctrine, through our nomination. He hoped the discordant element in the Convention which endeavored to defeat the earnest and pure purposes of himself and other like-thinking delegates, would not prevail. We were all deeply interested in the organization of the opposition to the Republican party, by putting our own representative men in the

field at once; not with any hope of election; without much expectation of general support, in consequence of the lateness of the hour, but to send a thrill of delight through the despondent bosoms of Democrats, whose leaders at Chicago had abandoned the cause of peace and State rights, to the corrupt advocates of war and consolidation.

It would do more; it would prevent these same false leaders from soon again betraying the party and the country. We ought now to designate our standard-bearer by a unanimous vote of confidence, so that after the approaching defeat of the Democratic party, he could push back from the leadership, the old and vile betrayers of our true men and principles; otherwise, he expected the party to be victimized for the hundredth time by the same men who had led them so often to defeat; never to victory; for even success with them cost us as much as the triumphs of Pyrrhus. Let us, tonight, seize the future government of the party, with a view to the restoration of a cheap, simple and responsible federal system for the United States, no matter what became of the issue of this terrible war. The time had arrived to choose our leaders and he wanted it done. He gave to it his heart and hand.

Mr. Corry was followed by General Singleton, who, in an able, forcible and earnest support of the views, as expressed by Mr. Long, said no man was more earnest in his desire for a nomination of some man whose principles and character would be in harmony with the platform we have just adopted—he would not have attended the Convention if he had supposed, before leaving home, that such a result as is now inevitable, at all probable—but the distinguished and honorable gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Long) to whom all eyes had been directed, having been tendered and declined a nomination, for motives and reasons which, if not entirely satisfactory to all of his friends present, are at least highly creditable to the gentleman himself—we are driven to the necessity of canvassing the character and opinions of others not present, and to secure their consent, before we can accomplish the much-desired and important result. In view of the fact that a majority present are unwilling to protract the session beyond to-night, and the utter impossibility of acting understandingly to-night, and in consideration that great good has already been accomplished, our happy and harmonious results should not be tarnished by hasty and inconsiderate action in making a nomination of persons whose opinions and wishes can not be consulted to-night. I am ready to acquiesce in the necessity of temporarily foregoing such nominations, with a view to further consultation with absent friends, and a future meeting for such purpose after Mr. Lincoln shall have been re-elected.

I therefore move that this convention do now adjourn *sine die*

Hon. W. C. Jewett followed General Singleton in an impressive appeal in opposition to Mr. Long and General Singleton, and in support of the chair, favoring nominations. He stated the impossibility of his harmonizing with the Committee, in commending that the Convention adjourn without nominating. He admitted the difficulty of obtaining representative men and leading eminent advocates of true Democratic principles, independent of the difficulty that many who would support the action of this Convention were just pledged to support Gen'l McClellan. He believed, however, if time was given for telegraphs, suitable nominations could be made. He expressed his sincere and earnest desire that, for the cause of liberty, peace and the representation of a principle, that a nomination should be made. He deemed a nomination indispensable, not for immediate victory, but as a standard around which the now smothered peace sentiment and Jeffersonian principles could gather for ultimate success. General McClellan had deserted, in his letter of acceptance, not only the time-honored principles of our institutions, but had repudiated the very power who had given him the nomination at Chicago—for he was pledged to a war platform. He could not, therefore, from principle, support General McClellan, nor could he justify that portion of the peace party who now allow themselves to be led by a man who had been false to them, by not refusing the nomination, without an indorsement of their platform for peace; and when not indorsed, in their not making independent nominations. He rejoiced in the success of the Convention, through their declaration of principles, while he regretted the disposition now in the majority to postpone nominations.

He, in conclusion, desired to proclaim his opposition to the proposed action of this body to adjourn *sine die* to defeat nominations. He said: "I do protest against it in the name of humanity, in the name of liberty, in the name of God, from its fatal consequence, to Republican liberty."

The discussion was continued until after midnight, resulting in the success of a motion to adjourn, *sine die*, postponing further action upon nominations.

THE ADDRESS.

Mr. Singleton from the Committee on resolutions, platform, and address, submitted the following, which was unanimously adopted;

The Chicago Convention were a body of men professing to represent the great principles of American Democracy. There could be no difference of opinion as to what those principles were. They had been stamped upon every Democratic platform from the organization of the party to the moment of its fatal dissolution. They had been borne upon the breath of every Democratic statesman from Jefferson down.

They had been proclaimed for near three-quarters of a century by the merest tyros in politics, from every stand and stump in our land.

Hostility to the existing war, growing out of a political education thus obtained, and utter abhorrence of fraternal strife, was the predominating feeling of the Democratic masses. The resolutions of 1798-9, prepared by Jefferson and Madison, were cherished by them as the organic law of their party. They condemned alike the war, its *measures*, its *evils*, its excesses, and its *advocates*.

The masses without, and the delegates within the Convention clamored for peace, denied the power of the federal government to coerce a sovereign State and continue a war of extermination against its people. No Democratic speaker in or out of the Convention *dared* to advocate a continuance of the war under any leadership or pretense whatever. And yet the result of its deliberations, is a war candidate and a war platform. Deeds, and not professions, are the mirror reflecting political truth; and by applying this test to the Chicago Convention, we shall be able to understand the principles which lie at the bottom of the political system represented by Gen. McClellan.

The Chicago Convention assembled after both Lincoln and Fremont had been nominated upon consolidation and abolition platforms as war candidates, pledged to subjugate the South and emancipate the slaves, which means not only the annihilation of the Southern State governments and the Southern State society; it means something quite as tragical, *i. e.* the destruction of our federal system already almost consolidated by repeated and extreme violence, and the reorganization of Northern Society, on the *new basis of class distinction* instead of Democratic equality. While using the poor young white men of the North to destroy the South, the aristocrats have kept their sons out of danger; and they have absorbed all the productions of the country, sold them to be wasted in war at great profit to themselves, and now hold a creditor's claim on us for the whole amount, probably five thousand millions or the total value of all the North West. This claim is funded or to be funded, permanently bearing an interest of which producers, whether mechanics, farmers or laborers, will have the expenses of collection as well as interest to pay for about three hundred millions of dollars *per annum*; or fifty millions for Ohio, five millions for this city. The public debt is owned by the East; its principal weight will fall on the West, and it will require on all hands the most constant vigilance and perfect honesty to preserve our institutions and do both sections justice. This most alarming sum of five thousand millions of wasted property already threatens our system. It will far more than *tithe* the fields; it will double *tithe* them; every third bushel will have to go for this dead

horse, and those who booted and spurred will galvanize and ride him over the agriculturists' rough shod. For this debt the farmers have not yet been directly taxed; their time is at hand, and they are most deeply interested in the question who shall be the next President.

The interest and cost of the public debt; the army expenses of half a million of men, of themselves, must make a wreck of our institutions; for with the machinery of old countries like England and France, we will soon arrive at their despotic form of government. The cause involves the effect; the premises the conclusion, and if we decide to carry on the war according to Lincoln and McClellan, so as to merge all our remaining property in public stocks, bearing interest and exempt from taxes, we are the most willing slaves that ever existed; we offer a premium for a master; and he will be a military master of course. There are other reasons why we are on the downward road from the best government in the world to the worst: from freedom to despotism. In this suicidal war our officers have violated all the provisions of the Constitution, as well as its spirit; we have no more free speech, free press, free elections, and free people, or responsible rulers; but we obey the military and semi-military orders of a new set of lords, whose sovereign will is the supreme law of the land. It was a part of the system of southern subjugation to extinguish southern liberty, and it has been far more faithfully achieved than its counterpart.

What should the Convention have done? What was expected of them? What will the people decide upon this most indispensable appeal?

They should have done three things:

I. Declared the Jeffersonian doctrine of the Democratic party as the platform.

II. They should have placed their standard in the hands of a Representative candidate.

III. They should have applied the true interpretation of the Constitution contained in the Resolutions of 1798, to the crisis.

I. They should have declared plainly the principles of the party. What did they do? They contemptuously rejected them, spurned them under foot. They pretended to refer the first Kentucky Resolution for State Rights to a committee, while they instantly adopted the consolidation platform of New York.

For sixty-five years the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions have been the basis of the Democracy: they are the Scriptures of the party. They have been announced as the democratic creed as a matter of course, by every statesman speaking at any time or place or in any manner for his party. But to that corrupt Convention, they were a charmed talisman to expose their fraudulent platform; for Thomas Jefferson the father of democracy had organized them as a Peace party as well as a

State Rights party, and forbade the cement of blood in the federal structure, as the sound of the hammer was not allowed by the builders of the temple. The committee designedly suppressed the Resolutions in order to establish war and consolidation as the democratic doctrine, and Hamilton and New York instead of Jefferson and Virginia, as the oracles of the Constitution.

Fellow citizens, there is not only no provision for liberty, there is no hope of liberty in a great territory like the United States, but by the true federal system under which each State has two constitutions, and two sets of officers, one for domestic, and the other for foreign purposes. If the federal officers at Washington City control the whole consolidated system, we have a despotism of the worst form, the despotism of the mere majority; which is worse, because more irresponsible than the despotism of Russia: the Czar has but one neck, our tyrant would be hydra-headed. Jefferson, the democrat, taught the sovereignty, independence and equality of the several states, and their voluntary Union under the federal constitution. But Story and Webster, after the Adamases and Hamilton, held that the sovereignty of the States is a falsehood, and that a majority federal government may do as it pleases with the rights of the States and of the people. If that were so, there would be no propriety in having a solemn written constitution for the protection of the minority, or the restraint of the majority. If that were so, then the majority of Congress like the British Parliament would be omnipotent, which has hardly become American doctrine. If that be so, that majority could expel a member from the Union as well as coerce one or more to remain by force, which is not yet openly pretended. The truth, which science will at last vindicate against all old and recent errors is, that the federal Constitution is the voluntary compact of Union for each State which consents to it, each with all, the co-states being the other party; that it is a continuing compact, and that all its powers are government trust powers; and not rights, nor sovereign powers; and that they are delegated only, and not inherent; nor do in any wise impair the constitution making, altering, and breaking power, which is the ultimate power of the people of each State, over every part of the whole system, so far as its citizens are concerned. "The people" of a State is the organized totality of all its inhabitants, which people alone is the depository of the sovereignty.

The Chicago Convention have left the true narrow path of the Constitution, and followed the broad road, trodden lately plainer than ever by the armed feet of military forces, downward into the Pandemonium of War; almost civil war; war between brethren and kindred States.

We can not be thus misled. We point out the better way. We implore the people to

follow the old Jeffersonian standard of Peace and State Rights.

II. That standard should be borne aloft by a representative man. Instead of a representative man like the great statesmen of the Revolution, we are asked to support a well known but rather ordinary Major General, to whose disabilities as a democratic candidate for the Presidency, we intend to devote a large part of this address. We do it with a formed design of influencing democrats not to vote for him, but rather to allow the election to go as it may while they stay at home. The evil counsels and the dictatorial doings of Gen. McClellan have always led President Lincoln's advance. Indeed, there is not one objection that Democrats have made to Mr. Lincoln's theories, not one malediction of Mr. Lincoln's acts which is not true of Gen. McClellan. Their records are as like as they could be; and if they had exchanged their positions in this unhallowed strife, their failures would have been identical! With what power of face must any man be gifted to enable him to call upon Democrats after four years specific cursing of Lincoln and Lincolnism, to vote for his right hand man McClellan, for President? And that too, when the people's agony and indignation had but one cry, peace, peace, peace, immediate peace; and but one hope, on earth as in heaven, in blessed peace: a peace which among brethren is always honorable, and between brethren can always be made by good will on honorable terms. Christ himself, in the sermon from the sacred mount, called the peacemakers the children of God.

Every member of the Democratic party had a right to expect—yea, demand—that the Convention should conform their action to the usages and principles of the party they proposed to represent. That their candidate should be chosen from that party, and committed to its principles. That in making their selection of a candidate for the Presidency, the popular will in reference to existing issues would be consulted. Many months before the Convention assembled, well grounded suspicions were indulged, that efforts would be made by the combined power of foreign and domestic capital to control its action, and secure the nomination of a military man committed to their schemes of centralization. And it is with the deepest mortification and regret that your Committee are constrained to yield to the conviction that such a result was fully attained by the nomination of Gen. Geo. B. McClellan, who was then and is now a Major General in the United States army, holding the office for life with a salary of \$8,000 per year, which appointment was conferred upon him by Mr. Lincoln, since the commencement of the existing war, as his *pledged* and faithful friend.

Had a Butler, Stanton, Banks or Cameron, been selected by the Convention, or even

Mr. Lincoln himself, a greater antagonism between the principles of the party and its candidate could not have been produced. Like Butler, Stanton, Banks and Cameron, Gen. McClellan entered upon the present administration in full fellowship and sympathy with Mr. Lincoln and his party. He followed Mr. Lincoln as long and as far as Mr. Lincoln would permit him to follow, and it is no fault of Gen. McClellan's that he is not now acting in harmony with Mr. Lincoln and his administration. The fault is Mr. Lincoln's, who relieved him of his command, and sent him in disgrace to report to his wife in New Jersey. No man has ever done so much to give to Mr. Lincoln's administration its worst and most objectionable features as Gen. McClellan. Every outrage of which the Democratic masses have complained, and against which they have so often resolved was either originated, recommended, or approved, by Gen. McClellan during his connection with Mr. Lincoln. Arbitrary arrests, the draft, military interference with slavery, and the ballot box, suspension of *habeas corpus*, are all the pet offsprings of his military genius. We shall not attempt to convince you of these painful truths by our own arguments or declaration: but will proceed at once to direct your attention to the record of stubborn facts, made by Gen. McClellan himself, and published by order of the Congress of the United States.

In the first official communication of Gen. McClellan to Mr. Lincoln, dated 4th of August, 1861, he uses this language: "The purpose of ordinary war is to conquer a peace, and make a treaty upon advantageous terms; in this contest it has become necessary to crush a population sufficiently numerous, intelligent and warlike, to constitute a nation." Fellow-democrats, we beseech you to pause and blush, if you do not weep, for the honor of our cause. Our party are the peculiar advocates of the great American theory—that the people are the source of power and that all governments derive their just authority from the consent of the governed. And yet it is proposed that we shall give our support to a man for the Presidency, whose unsheathed sword is still dripping with the blood of his slain, who is booted and spurred for war, with the declaration of a hellish wrath clinging to his lips, that this war must be continued until we "crush" eight millions of our kindred and countrymen, because they are "sufficiently numerous, intelligent and warlike to become a nation."

Again, in the same communication to which we have referred, this boasted apostle of Democracy while professing to others, to be fighting for the Constitution and Union, advises Mr. Lincoln to equip an army in Kansas and Nebraska, to be marched through the Indian country into Texas; there to be joined and supported by another army to be equipped in California, and marched overland through New Mexico. For what? To maintain the authority

of the Constitution and restore the Union? No. But to abolish slavery and make a free State of Texas. So anxious was he for the success of this diabolical scheme, that he advises Mr. Lincoln to form an "alliance" with the despotic government of Mexico to ensure its success; assuming and declaring that Mexican antipathy to slavery would make such an alliance acceptable to them.

The reader will bear in mind that the communication with which we are now dealing was written by Gen. McClellan to Mr. Lincoln during the first six months of Mr. Lincoln's administration, and contains the first suggestion ever made to Mr. Lincoln, so far as the public are informed, of armed military interference with the institution of slavery.

Fellow Democrats be not startled; we have a solemn and painful duty to perform, and we have entered upon it with the firm purpose of removing the veil of hypocrisy from the face of guilt, tearing the cloak of Democracy from the shoulders of infamy, and exposing the schemes of those who, under its sacred vesture, are plotting the ruin of our country, and the extermination of liberty and free government.

Think of it citizens and soldiers—two vast armies to be organized and equipped three thousand miles apart, to be marched over dreary deserts and uninhabited regions, at an incalculable cost of life and treasure, for no other purpose than to make Texas a free State. The schemes of Gen. McClellan against slavery, recommended to Mr. Lincoln, were not confined to Texas alone, but extended wherever the tyrant's plea of military necessity could be made to prevail, as we shall presently show by reference to his subsequent communications on the same subject in their regular order of time.

That you may understand the character of the man who now asks your suffrages for the Presidency, his duplicity and hollow pretences, we beg you to keep in mind the important and incontestible truth disclosed by his own published correspondence, that while he was recommending to Mr. Lincoln vile schemes for the destruction of slavery, employing the military power of the country to carry elections for the Republican party, and asserting that our brethren of the South should be "crushed" because they are "intelligent and warlike," he is with the same pen writing to Halleck, Burnside and Buell, and impressing upon them the importance of making the people believe that the war was prosecuted solely to restore the Union and re-establish the authority of the Constitution.

In his letter of instruction to Gen. Burnside, Commanding Expedition to North Carolina, dated 7th of January, 1862, he advises that officer to "say as little as possible about politics or the negro," it would not suit in that latitude, and at that time; but in his letter to Gen. Buell of the 7th November, 1861, he says, "It is possible that the conduct of our political

affairs in Kentucky is more important than that of our military operations."

What political affairs did Gen. McClellan then have charge of in Kentucky that were "more important than our military operations?" Were they the political affairs of the Republican party of which he was then an active member and willing tool? or is it *possible* that they were the political affairs of the down-trodden "traitorous copperhead Democracy" as he and his party are accustomed to call us? We leave the answer to common sense if there be any left in the country.

On the subject of arbitrary arrests and the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, for which Lincoln and his advisers have been so severely censured, it is only necessary to examine the letters and orders of Gen. McClellan to know that he is the author of the system. He was the "Young Napoleon" of the early days of Mr. Lincoln's administration, across whose illimitable vision no shadow dare flit. All the departments of the government, State and Federal, and even the people, learned implicit obedience to the imperial will of this sceptered General, "*wrapt in the solitude of his own originality.*"

On the 11th of November, 1861, he writes to Gen. Halleck, then at St. Louis, referring to a class of persons who claimed to have military appointments, he says, "If any of them give you the slightest trouble, you will at once arrest them and send them under guard out of the limits of your department, informing them that if they return they will be placed in *close confinement.*"

Could an order be more arbitrary than this? No accusation, no trial; but men to be driven arbitrarily from their homes, their families, their friends; denied even the poor privilege of remonstrating against such acts of lawless tyranny, lest they should be immured in some filthy dungeon to live upon its vapors, and die like felons.

On the 12th of November, 1861, just one day after, he writes to Gen. Buell and says, "when there is good reason to believe that persons are giving aid, comfort or information to the enemy, it is of *course* necessary to arrest them." No case of military arrest has ever occurred where the officer ordering the arrest did not claim to have "good reason for making it," but as such reason was never required to be given to the public, or the party arrested, that he might discharge himself from the suspicion or accusation against him, if any, the public, as well as the victims of such arbitrary power, have been kept in utter ignorance of the cause of such arrests. If Gen. McClellan had respected the authority of the Constitution and laws of the country, he would have required that all such persons as he describes, when arrested, should be handed over to the civil authorities for trial and punishment; to be confronted, with witnesses against them, and to have compulsory process for witnesses in their favor; but, like all others, of

which we have complained, he, in *every instance*, left his subordinates to decide upon the sufficiency of the cause, the mode of trial, and the extent and character of the punishment. In fact, his orders authorized those under his command, to arrest with or *without* cause, they being the judges; and to punish without accusation or trial, they being both accuser and judge.

— The arrest and imprisonment of the Maryland legislature by order of Gen. McClellan, is the crowning evidence of the despotic temper and arbitrary will of the man, and is justly regarded as the most high-handed act of military tyranny to be found in the annals of history. In this case as in all others we have cited, no shelter can be found for Gen. McClellan under "superior orders." Each and every case was the emanation of his own will. The *suggestion*, the *plan* of arrest, and imprisonment, of the unoffending representatives of the people of Maryland were his own; the execution of the plan was intrusted by him to "My Dear Gen. Banks." (See his letter to Gen. Banks on this subject.)

Gen. McClellan had no orders from the President or Secretary of War, to commit this vile, and unparalleled outrage upon the sovereignty of a State, and the personal rights of the individual citizen. A Republican abolition General of the Army of the United States, in 1861, causes the sovereignty of a State to be invaded and insulted, its legislature arrested, imprisoned, and finally discharged without accusation or trial, by the same arbitrary will that caused such arrest and imprisonment, and claims the support of the State rights, law-abiding, Constitution-loving old Democratic party for President, in 1864. How strange it looks does it not?

"A free ballot or a free fight," is now declared to be the purpose of the Democratic party. And here permit us respectfully to suggest that it would be well for you to look into the record of Gen. McClellan, which he has so arrogantly made the platform of the party, and ascertain whether he is willing to go into a "free fight for a free ballot." The following order issued by him on the day it bears date will very much assist your inquiries on this point.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
WASHINGTON, October 29, 1861."

"General: There is an apprehension among Union citizens in many parts of Maryland of an attempt at interference with their rights of suffrage by disunion citizens, on the occasion of the election to take place on the 6th of November next.

"In order to prevent this, the *Major General Commanding* directs that you send detachments of a sufficient number of men to the different points in your vicinity where the elections are to be held, to *protect the Union voters*, and to see that no disunionists are allowed to intimidate them, or in any way to interfere with their rights.

"He also desires you to arrest and hold in confinement, till after the election, all disunionists who are known to have returned from Virginia recently, and *who show themselves at the polls*, and to guard effectually against any invasion of the peace and order of the election. For the purpose of carrying out these instructions *you are authorized to suspend the writ of habeas corpus*. General Stone has received similar instructions to these. You will please confer with him as to the particular points that each shall take the control of.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
R. B. MARCY, Chief of Staff.

Major General N. P. Banks, Commanding
Division, Muddy Branch, Md."

The object of the foregoing order is too transparent for comment; "*little Mac*" was not then in favor of a "free ballot." On the 29th of October, 1861, Democrats had no rights in Maryland that even a "negro was bound to respect," according to his theory at that time. He was then in the employment of Mr. Lincoln, fighting the political battles of the Republican party in Maryland and Kentucky, where Democrats were called "*Copperheads*," and "Copper heads" were called "*disunionists*," and were not entitled to vote.

Col. R. B. Marcy, who signs the foregoing order, is the father-in-law of Gen. McClellan, and at that time his Chief of Staff. He says in the order, the "Major General Commanding" directs, &c. What did the "Major General Commanding" direct? 1st. That Gen. Stone and Gen. Banks should send a sufficient number of soldiers to each election precinct in the State of Maryland, to protect "Union voters," *alias* Republican voters. 2d. "He also directs you to *arrest and hold in confinement until after the election* all disunionists," *alias* Democrats.

Why "*arrest and hold them in confinement until after the election*," except to prevent them voting, and to deter other Democrats from going to the polls and making the attempt.

For the purpose of carrying out this detestable order, he says to Gen. Banks and Gen. Stone, "You are authorized to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*." This was the unkindest cut of all. A man claiming to be the candidate of the Democratic party for President, suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* in order to imprison Democrats beyond the relief of the law, and thereby to prevent them voting, and to carry the elections of the State of Maryland for the abolition party.

Reader have you forgotten the history of that day? If so, go back to the files of your old newspapers and examine once more in shame and scorn the long list of your oppressed countrymen, your down-trodden Democratic brethren, who were incarcerated in loathsome prisons by that infamous order of General McClellan. The ballot box—the last refuge of

freedom destroyed by a Republican Major General, who now asks your support for President of the United States, having no higher claim to your confidence and support than that he has forfeited that of Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party. We would be glad if the chapter of his evil deeds and audacious designs could end here; but the culminated point is still before us and must be told.

Having inaugurated the odious, oppressive and tyrannical system of Provost Marshals, and arbitrary arrests, and dictated the whole system of military interference with slavery as at present practiced, having broken down and destroyed the ballot box, having recommended or by his own order violated every right that Democrats hold dear; his next phase is that of a conspirator against our Constitution and form of government; prompting Mr. Lincoln to disregard his Constitutional advisers, turn Cabinet, Congress and courts out of doors and take upon himself the responsibility of administering the affairs of the government according to his own will. In pursuance of the atrocious and astounding scheme, he addresses Mr. Lincoln a long letter from Harrison's Landing, Va., dated the 7th of July, 1862; which for audacity of design, and disgraceful subserviency is without a model. It is the most remarkable and extraordinary document this war has produced in either section of our distracted country. Under the *pretence* of correcting evils, and introducing a more civilized and christian spirit into the conduct of the war, and under *cover* of the most wise and patriotic expressions, it adroitly conceals the glittering gems of a military despotism to tempt the ambition of the President.

He says to Mr. Lincoln, the "time has come when the government must determine upon a *civil* and *military* policy, covering the whole ground of our national trouble. The responsibility of *determining, declaring, and supporting* such *civil* and *military* policy, and of *directing* the *whole* course of national affairs in regard to the rebellion must now be *assumed* and exercised by *you Abraham Lincoln*, or our cause will be lost. The Constitution gives you power even for the present *terrible* exigency." The substance of the foregoing is, that Mr. Lincoln should *assume* to be the government, and take upon himself the "*responsibility*" of determining and declaring its "*civil*" and "*military*" policy. Now we ask what is comprehended in the civil and military policy of a government? Is it not the power of *making laws, construing them, and executing them*? Such then is the responsibility which Mr. Lincoln is recommended by General McClellan to *assume*.

Our Constitution has wisely divided the federal power into three separate, independent and co-ordinate departments, assigning to each its powers and duties, and for the first time in our history we are informed that the President who represents one department only,

may constitutionally take upon himself the powers, duties and administration of all the other departments. It would truly be a "terrible exigency" that would thus construe the powers of the President, and authorize him to make his will the law of the land, as General McClellan has advised. What else could he mean by telling Mr. Lincoln that he must "*assume the responsibility of determining and declaring the civil and military policy, and directing the whole* course of national affairs, if he does not mean to advise him, to usurp the power of the other departments of the government. It must be admitted by the most devoted admirers of his military genius and legal learning, that it would be utterly impossible for Mr. Lincoln to direct the *whole* course of national affairs, as long as the power of Congress remained to *direct* him; that he could not *determine and declare the civil and military policy* of the government, without *silencing* Congress and the courts. He could not "*assume*" and "*exercise*" the powers proposed by General McClellan without *treason and violence*.

The civil and military policy which Mr. Lincoln is advised to *determine upon and declare*, is to "*cover the whole ground of our national trouble*." Now General McClellan must either deny that slavery formed any portion of the ground of our "*national trouble*" which he can not successfully do, or admit that Mr. Lincoln's proclamation in competition with the "Popes bull against the comet" were recommended and approved by him. If slavery entered into the cause or foundation of our national troubles as asserted by Mr. Lincoln and proclaimed by all the Republicans from Maine to California, it was well known to Gen. McClellan; and Mr. Lincoln has only taken his fatal advice in that subject as upon many others of greater and less degrees of importance. The animus of this remarkable document can readily be collected by reading the eighth paragraph of the letter to which we refer as published in his report to the Secretary of war.

He proposes to Mr. Lincoln to unite with him in overthrowing the government he was sworn to preserve, and establishing upon the ruins of the Union and the Constitution, a military despotism of which Mr. Lincoln was to be the *law giver*, and he, McClellan, the chief agent and executor of his will. He says to Mr. Lincoln: "In carrying out any system of policy *you* may form, *you* will require a Commander-in-Chief of the army, one who possesses *your* confidence, understands *your* views, and who is competent to *execute your* orders, by *directing the military forces* of the nation to the accomplishment of the *objects* by *you* proposed.

I don't ask that place for myself. I am willing to serve *you* in such position as *you* may assign me, and I will do so as *faithfully* as ever *subordinate served superior*."

Could words be found in the English language to express more clearly the unhallowed purpose and traitorous design of General McClellan than those we have quoted.

If the communication referred to had been addressed to General McClellan while acting as Commander-in-Chief of the army, by one of his subordinate officers, and had fallen into the hands of the Secretary of War, the writer would have been promptly arrested, tried, convicted, and executed under military law. General McClellan not only proposes to Mr. Lincoln to commit a high crime by converting the free government of our country into a military despotism, to be controlled by the will of Mr. Lincoln alone; but he also proposes to be the instrument of the foul deed. He tells Mr. Lincoln, that he, Lincoln, can confide in him, McClellan; that he, McClellan, understands his, Lincoln's views, and is competent to execute his, Lincoln's orders; and that he, McClellan, will take command of the army and employ it for the accomplishment of *any object* he, Lincoln may propose; but if Mr. Lincoln will not trust him, McClellan, with the chief command, he, McClellan is so anxious to serve him, Lincoln, that he will accept any other position that he, Lincoln may choose to assign him, McClellan; and that he, the *said* McClellan will serve him, the *said* Lincoln as "*faithfully* as ever *subordinate served superior*." It will be observed that the service proposed by General McClellan is *not* to the Country or the cause of the Union, and the Constitution, but to whatever course Mr. Lincoln may espouse; or whatever object Mr. Lincoln may prepare. Throughout the entire prayer of the guilty petitioner, and unscrupulous adviser, the words "*you*" and "*your*" are employed. The Constitution, the Union, the Country, or its cause are not ever alluded to.

Was ever such contemptible subserviency, such profound obsequiousness, such fawning sycophancy, such damning guilt before displayed by any man aspiring to public confidence and high official position?

Having adverted to the recommendations of General McClellan on the subject of slavery in Texas, we are brought in the regular progress of investigation to the general views on that subject, as we find them in his letter to Mr. Lincoln of the 7th of July 1862. In this boasted communication he admits the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the States, and declares that it is the duty of the army to give slaves protection. His words are as follows: "Slaves contraband under the Act of Congress seeking military protection should receive it." What are slaves contraband? The word contraband signifies *illegal traffic*. And as General McClellan is a man of too much learning not to understand the true force and import of his own words, no doubt can exist as to the idea he means to convey. In the same connection he says: "the right of

the government to appropriate *permanently* to its own *service* claims to slave labor should be asserted." Either one of these declarations involves the admission of the power of Congress, or the government, if you please, to destroy slavery. At this point it may be useful to enquire what *permanent* service the government could possibly have for negro men, women and children, except to make a standing army of the men, and support the women and children at the public expense, as is now being done, in accordance with General McClellan's recommendation.

Having laid down the principle, he proceeds to tell Mr. Lincoln how it may be applied so as to destroy slavery in any given State. He says this principle of appropriating slave labor *permanently* to the *service* of the government "might be extended upon grounds of *military necessity* and security, to all the slaves of a particular State thus working *manumission* in such State." The plan here recommended by General McClellan for the destruction of slavery, portrays the most insidious, false, and jesuitical character this war has evolved; knavery without boldness, duplicity without principle, a will without courage, are the leading characteristics of the man. Take the slaves he says, by military power, or under the accursed plea of "military necessity" and under the *false pretence* of appropriating them *permanently* to the government service, work manumission in any given State.

It may be said by the friends of General McClellan, that while he asserts the right of the government to appropriate permanently to its own use claims to slave labor; he also admits that the *right* of the owner to compensation therefor, should be recognized. This fact does not change the principle involved. The right of the owner to compensation when his property is taken for public use, is recognized by the laws of the land, and could acquire no additional strength from the sanction of General McClellan. The admission or recognition of a right where there is no remedy for its violation, or power to protect and enjoy the right, is a very cheap apology for trespass or crime. Trial by jury is a right recognized by the Constitution, yet like the right of the owner to compensation for his property, it is wholly disregarded.

When private property is taken for public use, the owner is entitled to actual compensation, and not to a mere admission or acknowledgment of a right to get his compensation if he can. The question is one of *power*, and not of *reciprocal duty and justice* where the object is in *good faith* the government service and the public good. In the case before us the government service is, as proposed by General McClellan the *mere pretext or excuse*, while he admits the *main and real object* to be the *manumission of the negro slaves*.

It is also urged in his defense, that he ex-

pressly declares in the same communication, that "military power should not be allowed to interfere with the relations of servitude." The admission of this fact which is cheerfully made, only establishes the fact that General McClellan's habit has been to take both sides of a question, that he might be sure to cheat some body. The admission can not fail to place him in such a light, when contrasted with his *distinct plan of manumission* under the plea of *military necessity*. The antagonism thus presented between his two propositions, to interfere, and not to interfere, is perfectly reconcilable with the whole history and character of the man as disclosed by his acts, orders, and correspondence, commencing with the administration of Mr. Lincoln and terminating with the letter of acceptance. And we know of no rule of construction more applicable to the orders and letters of General McClellan than that ordinarily applied to Wills where in case of conflicting claims or devises; the Court adopts the last declaration as the Will of the testator.

The proposition that "military power should not be allowed to interfere with the relations of servitude," is a declaration of *policy* which is abandoned in the next sentence of the same communication, by the enunciation of a *principle* and its application through the military power, or as he expresses it, "*military necessity*" to the destruction of the very servitude with which it was his *pretended* policy not to interfere. The principle is applied in detail to Missouri, Maryland, and Virginia, with the remark that its success is only a question of time.

The draft, which is so persistently placed to the account of Mr. Lincoln, and which is the source of so much discontent, like all the other odious measures of Mr. Lincoln's administration, was first recommended by Gen. McClellan, as will appear from the following note from Gen. McClellan to Mr. Lincoln, to be found in McPherson's documents, page 274:

WASHINGTON, Aug. 20, 1861.

Sir—I have just received the endorsed dispatch in cypher. Col. Marcy knows what he says, and is of the coolest judgment.

I recommend that the Secretary of War ascertain at once by telegram how the enrollment proceeds in New York and elsewhere, and if it is not proceeding with great rapidity *draft to be made at once*. We must have men without delay. Respectfully your obedient servant

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

Maj. Gen'l U. S. A.

The impossibility of giving a true and faithful history of Gen. McClellan without offending those who advocate his vain pretensions has hitherto, we have no doubt, prevented the attempt, and induced those who cannot defend him but acquiesce in his nomination, to delight their hearers with their amiable peace speeches. Hav-

ing themselves surrendered to the despotism of party, they would now enslave rather than enlighten the public mind by dealing in the recorded and inexorable truths of history.

The shackles of party must be broken; slavery of conscience and opinion be destroyed, and man left free to reason himself into the perception of truth and freedom before he is capable of self-government.

The draft and other evils which have so sorely oppressed and afflicted our country for the past three years are, in truth, the mere eruptions of the common virulence of civil war that can only be alleviated by the benign influence of peace. As long as the people favor a continuance of the war, they must be prepared for a continuance of its multiplying evils. Men and money are the sinews of war, and if they are not voluntarily contributed, the application of force for such purpose is as necessary as the war itself.

We should not deceive ourselves by indulging the insane idea that war can be conducted without men or money, or the occurrence of those dreadful evils that our experience proves to be, the natural historical concomitants of fraternal strife. Concession and compromise are the only highways to peace, in which all patriots and christians should travel.

The bloody path of war strewn with the wrecks of free government leads to desolation and death.

Robbery and violence lose not their criminal qualities in consideration of the personages by whom they are committed or protected. And if a continuance of the war under Mr. Lincoln is wrong, its continuance under Gen. McClellan would be criminal. There is no middle ground between peace and war, except that which is the centre between two points of right and wrong—like the antagonism between truth and falsehood it is utterly irreconcilable; and if this suicidal war is to be continued, it is our best judgment and fondest hope that it may be conducted to its close by the party in power—that humanity may be spared the last pangs of remorseful conscience, and the soul of Democracy be free from its stain. Far better that Democracy should wear the chain of slavery to the grave of liberty, or sink into that gulf that threatens to embosom our country, than coalize with infamy and vice, or become the executioner of its country's freedom.

The dangers that environ our country are not to be found in any political organization or principle, now publicly avowed or acknowledged—but in the vast opportunity which war has opened to the rapacity of mankind.

Capital throughout the world is now in the field with its marshaled hosts, reinforced by seven thousand five hundred millions of public indebtedness, (as the aggregate of both sections,) with drawn sabres, ready to charge upon liberty and free government. Our loss is their gain; our fields of carnage and desolation are

the sources of their power, and the foundation of their hopes—and with the death of liberty comes the resurrection of despotism and the triumph of the rich over the poor—capital over labor. The struggle that awaits us, and which is to decide the fate of self-government in this hemisphere will be fought by foreign and domestic capital combined, to foreclose the mortgage of war upon our goods and chattels, lands, tenements, and form of government, upon the one side,—and the labor and industry of the country upon the other. The princes of Europe whose thrones were trembling before the successful march of our experiment are gazing with unmingled delight upon their hopeful future, and eager to unite their arms to the cause of capital and despotism for the common subjugation of our country, north as well as south, and the re-establishment of the odious doctrines of passive obedience and non resistance, snatching from the people their inherent rights, and again planting upon the soil of America the victorious standard of the king and the parliament.

The North-west, and great valley of the Mississippi, were already regarded with suspicion and jealousy, lest their pursuits, coupled with a native independence of thought and action inspired by their love of liberty and free government, should lead them in defence of a common right, and the altars of their uncorruptible fathers—to thwart the well settled plans of a monied aristocracy to drive them from the independent and honorable position of American proprietors, to the degrading European vassalage of mere tenants of a soil which is theirs by all the laws of inheritance and purchase.

It is a country so vast in resources, and so capable of almost unlimited expansion, that it is now tempting the cupidity and rapacity of the plunderers of mankind. A moneyed aristocracy under the vanguard of *military* necessity, threatens the citadel of our future hopes. Hating our form of government which makes men equal, and protects alike the rich and the poor, they still admire the comfort of our homes, are dazzled with the treasures of our lands and fields, and captivated by the variety and productiveness of our soil and climate. In other words, while they despise Pharaoh, they long for the onions and garlic of Egypt.

III. In order to complete the organization of the Peace and State Rights Party of the future, we must not only declare the cardinal principles of Democracy, and place its standard in representative hands; but we should make a prompt application of the resolutions of Kentucky and Virginia to the actual facts of the first truly great crisis for which they were written as a guide.. The puny attempts at consolidation by the alien and sedition laws, were as nothing compared to the dangers from centralization and abolitionism. These crimes against government and society are great

enough to swallow all their predecessors, and to make an end of our institutions. We might enlarge on the charges against Lincoln's civil administration of affairs, and we might discuss the hopeless military efforts at subjugation of the South; but we choose to waive them both in this address, and to dwell on violations of the true theory of the Federal Constitution, which have compelled us to organize the Peace Party upon the basis of State Rights; and to take sides with Thomas Jefferson's opinions for State Sovereignty against the false theory of consolidation. With a fidelity worthy of a better cause, and with a sagacity which is more than the cunning of little minds, but less than the wisdom of a statesman, Mr. Lincoln has clung to his errors of constitutional doctrine, announced first at Indianapolis on starting to Washington, in 1861, that he could see no difference between the position of a County in a State, and that of a State in the Union; and finished when he told the Chicago clergy that he felt that he had the right to do anything he thought best for the good of the country. It behooves us to take a lesson from Mr. Lincoln. *And that lesson is that the Democratic leaders have not concentrated the party upon an OPPOSITE DOCTRINE, and made the rugged issue of principle tested by the constitution.*

No resolute Peace and State Rights Party can submit in their steadfast devotion to the public good to any other doctrine than that the war itself is a violation of the constitution—is absolutely forbidden. That true position places them upon the rock of principle, which their antagonists must assail at great disadvantage. It denies utterly the right of coercion; and puts the federal system on the foundation of State consent for each and all the parties to a voluntary union during pleasure. If the Northern States, disgusted with slaveholders, had seceded, there would have been but one opinion among us, about the wrong of coercion, because of the right of secession; and war, to supply the place of volition, if proposed by the South, would have been derided by the North. And yet principle is not a geographical nor a personal matter. We must insist that Mr. Lincoln has mistaken his office and our rights; and assert against him and his followers, the equality, independence and sovereignty of the States, and the voluntary nature of the Union which he is fighting to reestablish because he believes it compulsory. Democratic leaders have been false to the country in all this struggle. They have made their private griefs the occasion of complaint, instead of the organic disturbance of our institutions. A procession of States, headed by New York and closed by Ohio, demanded Mr. Vallandigham from arbitrary exile of the President. Not disputing his war doctrine, they seemed to be unbelievers in sovereign States, and a voluntary union—consolidationists in fact; and

his reply was conclusive. "The country is in a war of self-preservation. Why should I shoot the poor deserter for example's sake, and forgive Mr. Vallandigham who does not differ with me intelligibly about our constitutional system, but does an injury a thousand times greater to the cause?" Unless Mr. Vallandigham ceases to talk of the sovereignty of the Federal Government, and with his friends goes for correct doctrine, and asserts the sovereignty of the States, and their voluntary union, he must accept his fate as perfectly legitimate. *Habeas corpus* is not for such consolidationists; and their appeals to the British precedents have a like answer. That cruel government in the same circumstances, would not only suspend the writ altogether, but hang up or cut down the whole innervating fraternity by thousands without remorse. Well do we know whereof we affirm. The error of Mr. Vallandigham was his ignorance of the nature of the Federal Government, and his half truth that he had a right to protection from arbitrary arrest, but concealing the fact that he had been caught *flagrante delicto* opposing an administration in a great war. His clamor was nonsense if the majority of States can rightfully coerce a single State; and he must be brought to say that the right of coercion cannot exist, because there is a right of secession, and two opposing rights are impossible. There can be no real check to the war short of exhaustion, till new leaders put their opponents in the wrong and themselves in the right upon the TOTAL UNCONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE WAR. The Kansas case might teach us a lesson against prevarication. In that convulsion half truth only was avowed, and the question, at issue throughout all the disgraceful folios of reports and speeches was never stated by our side. Mr. Douglas claimed the right of *self-government* for squatters, without disclosing that they were exercising under that disguise the more than despotic power of excluding from settlement, half the States who were joint owners of the territories! Will the Democracy be always afraid of the truth? Are they afraid of it now?

It takes a creed as well as followers to organize a party, and nothing can be hoped from mere unorganized opposition, or organized opposition not directed by principle. Mr. Lincoln has his theory that the American States are counties; that he is an Emperor, (Imperator) whose war powers, or his rightful functions as President commanding-in-chief, or, alas, the military necessity, authorize to play the autocrat to force the loan of the last dollar, and to require at his will the last life from the North for the conquest of the South. Acting upon these despotic and sanguinary doctrines, Mr. Lincoln has destroyed our federal system, from the very beginning of his term, and he should be met eye to eye and face to face, by the absolute denial of his creed, and the assertion of the opposite, as well as by the selection

of a representative candidate on the true Jeffersonian grounds that he is "honest, capable and faithful to the Constitution."

The Democratic creed is wholly adverse to consolidation. And that creed springs from the history and philosophy of the federal system; of which the first Kentucky resolution is the best expression, as we have previously demonstrated.

Let us consider the prominent measures of consolidation and first of the so called "national forces." Each State should assert her own sovereignty as the vital spark of her existence, without which she must die, and she must insist that she claims the allegiance of her citizens against the Federal Government's conscriptions.

The militia of the States cannot be taken away by force, nor under cover of unconstitutional law and by connivance of mercenary and criminal judges, Governors and legislatures. And it is the right, it is the highest duty of every State, to interpose her sovereignty against these drafts of millions from the people's choicest children. Since January last 1,200,000 young men have been called for by the President, and within a year another million will be wanted. When the ship is being sunk by the captain with all on board; or the house is set on fire by a servant over the heads of his master's family, it is time to make the last effort to save them and to save themselves. On God's footstool there is no such dreadful picture as the crowds of thousands of poor men and their wives by their sides, trembling on their feet before a provost marshal and provost guard, who are drawing the names of conscripts from a wheel which sends the husband and father like an unwilling bullock to the slaughter pens, while his wife almost a widow starves amidst her children. In this free land Polyphemus caves abound above ground, and the only question for while neighborhoods is the question of Ulysses—who shall be last devoured? Terror has stricken the survivors, and the Peace and State Rights Party alone can save them from the catastrophe.

The Democratic creed respecting negro slavery for many years has been shamefully foolish, timid, and contradictory. We must hereafter speak the truth on that subject for the sake of our own laborers and our own property and safety. Our past leaders have left this great duty to go by default, because they have been afraid to testify to what they believe. We must do it now, or ourselves share their guilt. Negro slavery by the whites is a thing alien to us, for we have not been forced by circumstances to organize a society of whites and blacks. If we had been so situated we could not have done otherwise than the slaveholder has done, and he has done something formidable for war, since he took up arms, as he had before surpassed the world in the arts of peace, particularly in agriculture.

He is the first producer and the first warrior of his day, because he has made the most of his means, and organized them according to the true system applicable to the case. Where two races come in contact by millions, one inferior the other superior, there is nothing for it but slavery. The presence of the helpless class compels the superior to set the tasks and require obedience, whether he will or not; or else the two races will perish together or exterminate one another.

For forty years the protective tariff policy of New England has violated the Constitution and plundered the country upon the most palpable pretences. Its encouragement of manufactures is the discouragement of agriculture, and trades not protected; its protection of American industry is not an advance of wages, but an increase of dividends; its home demand for the produce of the country is only a diminution of the supply, by forcing the field hands into shops; its independence of foreigners is dependence upon them as borrowers of money to build factories, instead of meeting them on equal terms as vendors of produce; its development of the country is an exaggeration of our cities, its stimulation of trade is the oppression of commerce. The payment of import duties is just as stringent as any other tax; its convenience is a negation of principle; its uniformity is a sham, a delusion, and a snare, for it falls very partially on certain pursuits, and on a part of the property of a part of the country; its heavy cost of collection is hid in the importer's profits; its complexity enables our government to extort immensely by fraud, what the despot gets by force. And yet upon such, and other fallacies, at least a thousand millions of dollars have been unfairly extracted from producers of every class by the tariff acts of Congress; and our access has been barred to the markets of the world for the annual crops of grain and provisions; and finally, by plausible appeals to morbid sentiments on slavery, New England has poisoned the Great West against her best friends, her Southern customers, and has instituted the present tariff war with her blind co-operation, a war whose burthens have fallen on all the sections except New England, while she has reaped a golden harvest.

The Peace and State Rights party knowing that men and money are the sinews of war, and that they have been obtained by means of the draft and by the issue of immense sums of paper money, have in the previous part of the Address dwelt upon the injustice and illegality of the draft. The banking system is an equally false system, however organized. With less powers for evil, it has repeatedly desolated the whole country, especially the families which live by labor, and the agriculturalists, and more especially the Northwest. Banking is a corporate monopoly of the legitimate credit of a community by the privileged few who

pretend to possess gold and silver, from which circle, farmers and laborers are necessarily excluded. These monopolists protected from personal liability by charters; borrow gratuitously of the people millions of credit, place it in their banks and thence issue it out in discounts at high interest to their customers, the merchants and traders. A splendid living is thus made on little or nothing but the public's gullibility, for there would be just as much credit in the country if not a bank existed, and it would be cheaper for those who wanted it. When a crash comes the banker retires rich, but the holders of his bank promises to pay must pocket the loss. This iniquitous system is the periodical plague of the producers, and especially the farmers, and it is fearfully raging now under government high pressure stimulation, and should be denounced in every Democratic Address. Kings clip the coin to cheat the people; Congress counterfeits it for the same purpose.

There was an evasion of all these matters in the Convention proceedings; a complete abandonment of principle in its results, and a surrender to the enemies of Peace and State Rights.

The supreme calamity of party infidelity has therefore befallen our Democracy. The party has been utterly misrepresented by the delegates who have thus attempted to bind it to the war chariot of a Major General of the army. The platform is a war platform, and the candidate is Major General McClellan.

The Peace professions and Peace principles which pervade the mass of the people West and East are set aside for the purpose of continuing the policy and usurpations of Mr. Lincoln. The Convention system has become more than ever corrupt and irresponsible, for it has enabled the managers who pursue their own private interest, to thwart almost universal and public interest, and the public sentiments of honor and duty, and to frustrate the very latest and clearest expressions of their constituents. Peace, peace, peace, and all that comes with it; peace on honorable terms as between sensible men alike interested, was the demand of the masses; and the business of the Convention was to give effect to the demand by a declaration of principles on a Peace platform, and by placing a Peace candidate upon it. Standing amidst the wide-spread ruin of our country, wrought by bad counsels, and by head-strong passions after suffering the waste and carnage of three long years of sectional war, our people sighed for peace, and an immediate settlement with the seceding States. This bloody business of sending mothers' and fathers' sons from the North to slaughter other mothers' and fathers' sons at the South, upon their own native soil and amid their hearths and altars, has become an offence to Heaven itself, which we feel to be not only wrong but horrible. Every village

and homestead have lost their lustiest and their brightest youth by disease and battle; the chances of return are often one in ten, or one in eight, or six, or four; the regiments which so bravely bore their colors to the front three years ago, and a thousand strong, as they thought, to victory and glory, come back not as they went, but in staggering and scattered ranks, still brave to a fault, but only the shadow of themselves. Mourning is in every household, anguish in every heart, lamentation in every part of the deserted and afflicted land. The rude coffin that brings back the unrecognized remains of the once strong and proud hero of his mothers and his fathers heart; the pompous catafalque of some fallen general borne home for splendid burial, the fresh graves all over the battlefields wet with blood and consecrated to the demon of homicide, testify to the mighty madness as well as to the terrible cost of this fraternal strife.

And as usual with mortals in anger, we see but half the truth; our Southern brethren are at least equal sufferers, and the ruder sex of both sections suffer scarcely more than the gentle. In the month of August, 1864, and at the hands of the Chicago Convention we should have commenced the beginning of the end of such a state of things, repugnant as they are to law, religion, and justice, and repulsive as they are to all the finer feelings of human nature. But the vast majority of the delegates favoring a continuance of the war contrary to the wishes of their constituents, and not even masking their design, nominated Major General McClellan, whose condemned official action resulting in his retirement from the army, forms his only claim to the position of candidate of the Democracy; but whose violations of State Rights and the Rights of man are worse than Abraham Lincoln's. It may be that cruelty has become a chronic disease, and that like the tyrant of Argos, those managers have so long dabbled in others blood, that they have become frenzied with excitement. God grant that his royal taste may not be adopted by this nation. He looked upon the mass as the common herd born to till the earth a few brief years for him and then to sleep beneath it, or rising at their master's call to smite, and be smitten into a festering mound of crime and death. Is it possible that our tyrant at the North, by name called the majority, but in fact, the majority of that majority, the caucus of this majority, or an irresponsible committee of safety consisting of a few bad leaders, have silenced the holy service of religion, the veneration for virtue, the remembrance of home, the respect for human life?

The Chicago Convention have done the worst thing possible. They have misrepresented the people in a matter involving their liberty, safety, honor, and insinuations. The people should condemn their action by repudiating

their candidate and his vaunted record, and the Democratic party should at once begin to organize themselves upon State Rights and Peace doctrines for the future. Acting in that great name, this Convention assembled at Cincinnati, to protest against what has been so unwisely and offensively done, make their appeal to that final American tribunal, the wisdom and patriotism of the people of the sovereign States. We reject the Chicago platform and candidate: such action is but another combination of abolitionism and consolidation; it proposes only a change of masters, but not a change of system. Like Abraham Lincoln's policy, identical with it, the McClellan policy is a total overthrow of all principle, right and justice; its two legs are the same with which the former has bestrode the Constitution, and they are, the compulsory union of the States, called by both, the unity of this continent; and the forcible abolition of negro slavery, or the emancipation of four millions of helpless human beings not fit to be free, by the sword. Thus, we have before us two candidates, but no choice. Both the nominees, although hailing from opposite parties, represent the same political ideas, and one policy on the subject of the war. Why is this? How is this? Or is it without a why or a wherefore, that the States and peoples of the States of the North and West have thus imposed upon them candidates that although coming from different quarters are neither of them Democrats, but both federalists? The rejection of the State Rights doctrine of 1798; of Jefferson's doctrine, was logical and inevitable from a Convention which nominated McClellan, and proclaim between the South and North eternal war. Are this Major General and eternal war, the true ideas of our Democratic masses East and West? No, emphatically no; not at all; but the contrary. Who then, and what can account for such a nominee and such a creed? The answer to the question is, but one set of men, and one common purpose can account for it. and these are the holders of the Railroad monopolies, who have kept the Mississippi river closed; or rather, who shut it by war on the Constitution and Union, as well as on the South, in order to compel the transportation at ruinous cost, of beef, pork, corn and other produce of the Valley by force over their rails, instead of its natural outlet: the holders of the shipping monopolies which transport the annual crop to the markets of the world: the holders of the hundreds of millions of untaxable federal stocks: the holders of other millions of Atlantic Bank Stocks, whose capital has been borrowed by the Treasury to carry on the first year's war: the manufacturers of high tariff goods in New England, whose boarding and clothing and lodging, the West would have made money by paying for the last thirty years, instead of submitting to such highly pro-

tected monopolies. The Chicago Convention—a Democratic convention—was stormed by such troops as these, led on by the abolitionists, and foreign and domestic capital, the former being the worst enemies of the negro race, whom they ought to hate worse than they do their masters, and the latter, being the worst enemies of the Federal constitution, which they never did understand, and never will appreciate nor respect.

These are the only parties who have any candidate for the Presidency now before the people, and who have controlled the country to its shame and ruin for four years past, and who expect to deceive and overpower the people on the farms and in the shops, and at work elsewhere in the business of production. It is a strife of traders against producers, capital against labor, of systems and not of men; it means the change of society as well as government; they are after the last dollar and the last man. They both propose a moneyed and military aristocracy, instead of an equal simple and responsible democracy. As we love liberty and the free institutions which alone can protect it; we must overcome all this monstrous doctrine; we must defeat and disgrace its leaders; we must reverse its position in the country; we must utterly refuse to support it at the polls.

The State Rights party, the Peace party, the People's party present this appeal to the masses all over the United States from the decision at Chicago, and we have set forth the dangers, and described the Jeffersonian principles and the representative men whereby the party of the future must be organized. We have done our work in withstanding the first shock of prejudice in favor of convention proceedings, and it is for the people with their sober second thought to say whether in a most overwhelming case of danger, they will not take jurisdiction, and enter their decree of reversal. Whatever may be the result of the election, there can be no doubt of the ultimate result if their sovereign will becomes allied to the Constitution.

The war will then be stopped, because wasteful, fruitless, and shameful, *but above all, unconstitutional*, the Federal Capitol will be occupied by patriotic democrats; the abolitionists and consolidationists, will be scourged from the temple which our fathers consecrated to the sacred cause of Human Rights.

Committee on address and resolution consisted of the following named persons:

James W. Singleton, I. J. Miller, Josiah Snow, Lafe Devlin, Alexander Long, W. C. Jewett, W. M. Corry.

Report of the Committee unanimously adopted by the Convention, and proceedings ordered to be published.